The Growth of the American Labor Movement

**WORKER VS EMPLOYER**
“...The old familiar relations between employer and employee were passing. A few generations before, the boss had known every man in his shop. He called his men by their first names, asked about the family and swapped jokes and stories with them. Today, you have large factories, the personal touch is gone!”

Theodore Roosevelt

“IMPERSONALIZATION”

**INDUSTRIALIZATION**
- Poor working conditions
- Unfriendliness/impersonalization
- Immigrants taking jobs
- Decrease work day
- Machines replacing workers
- Child labor
- Job security

**WORKING FAMILIES**
- In the 1880s, children made up more than 5 percent of the industrial labor force.
- Children often left school at the age of 12 or 13 to work.
- Girls sometimes took factory jobs so that their brothers could stay in school.
- If an adult became too ill to work, children as young as 6 or 7 had to work.
- Rarely did the government provide public assistance, and unemployment insurance didn't exist.
- The theory of Social Darwinism held that poverty resulted from personal weakness.
- Many thought that offering relief to the unemployed would encourage idleness.

**THE WORK ENVIRONMENT**

*Division of Labor*
- Some owners viewed workers as parts of the machinery.
- Unlike smaller and older businesses, most owners never interacted with workers.
  - impersonalization

*Work Environment*
- Factory workers worked by the clock.
- Workers could be fired for being late, talking, or refusing to do a task.
- Workplaces were not safe.
- Children performed unsafe work and worked in dangerously unhealthy conditions.
- In the 1890s and early 1900s states began legislating child labor.

**The Changing American Labor Force**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Labor Force</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Manufacturing and Construction</th>
<th>Mining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>15,000,000</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>36,700,000</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Child Labor

“Galley Labor”

Labor Unrest: 1870-1900

The Molly Maguires (1875)

The Corporate “Bully-Boys”: Pinkerton Agents
Management vs. Labor

**“Tools” of Management**
- "scabs"
- P. R. campaign
- Pinkertons
- lockout
- blacklisting
- yellow-dog contracts
- court injunctions
- open shop

**“Tools” of Labor**
- boycotts
- sympathy demonstrations
- informational picketing
- closed shops
- organized strikes
- "wildcat" strikes

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**Labor Unions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labor Union</th>
<th>Labor Strike</th>
<th>Boycott</th>
<th>Scab Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers who organize against their employers to seek better wages and working conditions for wage earners.</td>
<td>The unions’ method for having their demands met. Workers stop working until the conditions are met. It is a very effective form of attack.</td>
<td>People refuse to buy a company’s product until the company meets demands.</td>
<td>New immigrants who would replace strikers and work for less pay. Often violence would erupt between strikers and scabs who were trying to cross picket lines to work.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Closed Shop**
A working establishment where only people belonging to the union are hired. It was done by the unions to protect their workers from cheap labor.

**Black List or Black Balled**
List of people disliked by business owners because they were leaders in the Union. Often would lose their jobs, beaten up or even killed.

**Collective Bargaining**
Type of negotiation between an employer and labor union where they sit down face to face and discuss better wages, etc.

**Yellow Dog Contracts**
A written contract between employers and employees in which the employees sign an agreement that they will not join a union while working for the company.

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**Lock Out**
Owner of industry would “lock out” workers who were trying to form a union and replace them with “scabs”.

**Cooperatives**
Industry or business organization owned by and operated for the benefit of those using its services—non-profit

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**National Labor Union**
- William Sylvis, 1866
- Skilled, unskilled, farmers but excluded Chinese...
- Cooperatives, 8 hr. work day, against labor strikes
- Founded a political party in 1872
- Involved in the Chinese Exclusion Act
- Lost election, faded away
- Replaced by Knights of Labor.

**Knights of Labor**
- Terence Powderly
- All workers except Chinese
- 8 hr. day, cooperatives, prohibition, and child labor
- Several strikes won some wage gains 1885 to 1886
- Unrealistic and vague goals
- Loss of important strikes and failure of cooperatives
- Haymarket Riot—1886

**American Federation of Labor or AFL**
- Samuel Gompers, 1881
- Skilled workers in separate unions.
- Work within political system for change.
- Closed shop and collective bargaining
- Over 1 million workers joined and won several strikes
- Small part of work force eligible to join.

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**A Striker Confronts a SCAB!**

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Knights of Labor

Terence V. Powderly

An injury to one is the concern of all!

Goals of the Knights of Labor

- Eight-hour workday.
- Workers' cooperatives.
- Worker-owned factories.
- Abolition of child and prison labor.
- Increased circulation of greenbacks.
- Equal pay for men and women.
- Safety codes in the workplace.
- Prohibition of contract foreign labor.
- Abolition of the National Bank.

Railroad Workers Organize

- The Great Railroad Strike of 1877
  - Railway workers protested unfair wage cuts and unsafe working conditions.
  - The strike was violent and unorganized.
  - President Hayes sent federal troops to put down the strikes.

- From then on, employers relied on federal and state troops to repress labor unrest.

The Great Railroad Strike of 1877

The Great Railroad Strike of 1877

Eugene Debs

- Founder of the Socialist Party in the U.S.
- Overthrow the existing laissez faire and capitalistic system.
- Believes in government ownership of business and capital (money, natural resources)
- Government controls production, sets wages, prices and distributes the goods. No profit or competition.
- Runs for the presidency several times.
Debs and the American Railway Union

– At the time of the 1877 strike, railroad workers mainly organized into various “brotherhoods,” which were basically craft unions.
– Eugene V. Debs proposed a new industrial union for all railway workers called the American Railway Union (A.R.U.).
– The A.R.U. would replace all of the brotherhoods and unite all railroad workers, skilled and unskilled.

Railroad Workers Organize

The Tournament of Today: A Set-to Between Labor and Monopoly

Anarchists Meet on the Lake Front in 1886

Haymarket Riot

– May 3, 1886, joining a nationwide strike for an 8-hour day
– Chicago workers protested against the McCormick Reaper plant.
– A riot broke out, and Chicago police officers killed several protesters.
– To protest the killing, protesters planned a rally for May 4.
– 3,000 gather at Chicago’s Haymarket Square.
– During the protest, a bomb exploded.
– 7 police officers were killed and civilians killed and injured.
– Chicago police hunt down murderers.
– 8 anarchists were convicted of conspiracy to murder.

This caused the public to look down on labor unions especially the Knights of Labor.

Gov. Altgeld of Illinois later issued pardons for the remaining accused anarchists.
The five men are clockwise from 1:00 o’clock:

- A. R. Parsons
- Adolph Fischer
- George Engel
- August Spies
- Louis Lingg (middle)

The first four were hanged on Friday, November 11, 1887.

Lingg committed suicide on November 10, 1887 by lighting a stick of dynamite in his mouth.

The American Federation of Labor: 1886

Samuel Gompers

How the AF of L Would Help the Workers

- Catered to the skilled worker.
- Represented workers in matters of national legislation.
- Maintained a national strike fund.
- Evangelized the cause of unionism.
- Prevented disputes among the many craft unions.
- Mediated disputes between management and labor.
- Pushed for closed shops.

Homestead Steel Strike (1892)

The Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers

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Homestead Steel Strike (1892)

The Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers
• 1892, Carnegie Steel workers strike over pay cuts
• Management locks out workers and hires scab workers.
• Violence erupted between strikers and scab workers.
• Pinkerton Security called in to settle violence
  • Strikers ambush them and forced Pinkerton’s to walk the gauntlet between striking families.
  • Some killed and many injured
• National Guard was called in by the governor of Pennsylvania to stop violence and reopen plant

• Carnegie successfully broke up the attempt to organize a union.
  • No labor unions in steel industry until the 1920’s.
  • Carnegie would be remembered for events at Homestead.
  • His public image suffered

A “Company Town”: Pullman, IL

Pullman Cars

A Pullman porter

Strikes Rock the Nation

• Pullman
  – Eugene Debs instructed strikers not to interfere with the nation’s mail.
  – Railway owners turned to the government for help. The judge cited the Sherman Antitrust Act and won a court order forbidding all union activity that halted railroad traffic.
  – Court orders against unions continued, limiting union gains for the next 30 years.

The Pullman Strike of 1894
If it takes the entire army and navy to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that card will be delivered!

President Grover Cleveland

The Pullman Strike of 1894

Government by injunction!

The Socialists

Eugene V. Debs

The Socialists

International Workers of the World ("Wobblies")

"Big Bill" Haywood of the IWW

Violence was justified to overthrow capitalism.

Mother Jones: "The Miner's Angel"

- Mary Harris.
- Organizer for the United Mine Workers.
- Founded the Social Democratic Party in 1898.
- One of the founding members of the I.W.W. in 1905.
Lawrence, MA Strike: 1912

The “Bread & Roses” Strike

DEMANDS:
- 15¢/hr. wage increase.
- Double pay for overtime.
- No discrimination against strikers.
- An end to “speed-up” on the assembly line.
- An end to discrimination against foreign immigrant workers.

Lawrence, MA Strike: 1912

The “Formula”

unions → violence → strikes → socialists → anarchists → immigrants!!

Labor Union Membership

Growth of Union Membership 1880-1896

- Americans were suspicious of labor unions because they tended to go against laissez faire and capitalism. Labor strikes were often violent.
“Solidarity Forever!”
by Ralph Chapin (1915)

When the union’s inspiration through the workers’ blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one,
But the union makes us strong!

CHORUS:
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the union makes us strong!

“Solidarity Forever!”

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite,
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?
Is there anything left to us but to organize and fight?
For the union makes us strong!

CHORUS:
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the union makes us strong!

“Solidarity Forever!”

Through our sisters and our brothers we can make our union strong,
For respect and equal value we have done without too long.
We no longer have to tolerate injustices and wrongs.
Yes, the union makes us strong!

CHORUS:
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the union makes us strong!

Workers Benefits Today

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Health Care</th>
<th>Pension</th>
<th>Disability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonunion</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defined benefit pension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Employers hated & feared unions.

Why?

- European influences of socialism
- Labor strikes always tended to be violent.

Some took steps to stop unions, such as:

- forbidding union meetings
- firing union organizers
- forcing new employees to sign "yellow dog" contracts, making them promise never to join a union or participate in a strike
- refusing to bargain collectively when strikes did occur
- refusing to recognize unions as their workers' legitimate representatives